DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 284 232 CS 210 619

AUTHOR Whitby, Gary
TITLE The Oversoul of Reform: Horace Greeley and New England Transcendentalism.
PUB DATE Aug 87
NOTE 40p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (70th, San Antonio, TX, August 1-4, 1987).
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Journalism; Mysticism; Newspapers; *Philosophy; Poetry; Publishing Industry; Religion; Romanticism; *Social Action; Social Change; United States History
IDENTIFIERS *Greeley (Horace); Nineteenth Century; *Transcendentalism

ABSTRACT

Entries in the New York "Tribune" suggest that editor Horace Greeley and his writing were part of New England transcendentalism. This was manifested in Greeley's interest in poetry, newspaper publishing, reform, and an overall practical social idealism. He was long associated with both literary figures and reform movements, and as a Universalist, his religious ideas were similar to those of the transcendentalists. Similarly, he believed in individual enlightenment, in society as a formation of individual consciences subject to the "Omniscient Beneficence" (or Oversoul), and in individual freedom. Transcendental mysticism and imagination are exhibited in the writings of the "Tribune" as well, all of which advocated social change based on intuitive perceptions and imaginative new life styles. Greeley's Fourierism, a supposed cosmic force based on what Fourier called "attraction," which leads individuals to adopt the kind of labor they are suited to and which eventually forms successful "associations" based on preferences, is a doctrine which illustrates this. Greeley's romantic Christian socialism saw God as a divine mix of deistic and romantic principles, the universe running by natural law but needing reform. His beliefs led him to become an advocate of social good, brotherly love and cooperation, and the reconstruction of society in these terms. (Nine pages of notes are included.) (JC)

**********
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
**********

ED284232

# The Oversoul of Reform: Horace Greeley And New England Transcendentalism

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

A Paper Submitted to the
Qualitative Studies Division of AEJMC's
Annual Convention
San Antonio, Texas
August 1987

Gary Whitby
School of Journalism
Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Gary L. Whitby

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

CS210619

## The Oversoul of Reform: Horace Greeley And New England Transcendentalism

Horace Greeley's history as a reformer has been well documented by a number of biographers.[1] Scholars have dwelt, however, more on the reform itself than on what prompted the reformist spirit in the editor's thought and in the thrust of that thought into his journalism.[2] Connections drawn between Greeley's own experiences and 19th-century literary reformist ideology have been suggested but traced no further. Such connections may, nonetheless, be important ones: given the overall importance of Greeley as a social reformer, the sources of his ideology should help explain better the rationale of his attempts at reform. Since the connection may have been manifested in Greeley's journalism, the purpose of this study is to trace and specify it there as closely as possible, using the Tribune as primary source.

### Greeley's Literary Background

The primary literary movement during Horace Greeley's career was romanticism, the inclusive dates of which stretch from 1830 to 1865. Romanticism marked a distinct break with early enlightenment structures (the universe as largely fixed and unchangeable).[3] Romanticism saw God and God-as-reason[4] as being equally available to every man, regardless of his station in life; and God's rules, spiritual and social, were to be intuited through transcendental intercourse with nature.[5] Romanticism emphasized the common man as the point of God's incarnation, the rustic life as the "good life," and the temple of nature as man's proper place of

worship. In religion and the arts, romanticism's extreme manifestation was mysticism; in social philosophy and politics, however, its thrust was toward reform. Romanticism, according to Lascelles Abercrombie, was ". . . life promising itself indefinite betterment in this actual world, and the vision of man's earthly perfection; or life withdrawing from the actual, and the vision of a mystical experience beyond the power of earthly abilities."[6]

Transcendentalism was the particular species of romanticism that triumphed as the central structure of feeling[7] in Greeley's native New England, for it was here where romanticism and the religious spirit intertwined to produce what has been regarded by many as the most significant literary movement in American history. Transcendentalism included such names as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Bronson Alcott, Margaret Fuller, George Ripley, F. H. Hedge, James Freeman Clark, Elizabeth Peabody, Theodore Parker, Jones Very, and W. H. Channing--the most famous figures being Emerson and Thoreau.

The transcendentalists believed in living close to nature and in the importance of spiritual living in general. By way of Unitarianism (the religious sect which most of them claimed to one degree or another), they espoused an individual relationship with God, believing at the same time that human beings were divine because they possessed a God-given conscience. The transcendentalists believed firmly in self-trust, self-reliance, democracy, and an intense individualism; and most of them were by nature reformers, although they disagreed on whether it was the individual or the institution which was to be reformed. They were called transcendentalists because, according to C. Hugh Holman, they believed

that human beings could "intuitively transcend the limits of the senses and of logic and receive directly higher truths and greater knowledge denied to other mundane methods of knowing."[8]

A look at Greeley's early career as a New York journalist shows a definite involvement in this literary atmosphere. Before founding the New York Tribune in 1841, he founded and edited the New Yorker.[9] This weekly literary journal, suggesting the full-grown connection between news writing and literary endeavor, announced itself in its first edition as being devoted to "literature, politics, statistics, and general intelligence."[10] Greeley, 23 years old when the New Yorker first appeared in 1834, had already shown an interest in writing poetry. In early New Yorker issues, he published 20 of his own poems, along with poems of other poets, serialized novels, a variety of news items, and essays.[11] During this time, Greeley's sister Esther later recalled, the young editor "kept a trunkful of books of verse and 'appeared in a perpetual rose dream.'"[12]

Greeley's early poems indeed showed him attempting staple romantic subjects and employing standard romantic conventions. A poem titled "On the Death of William Wirt" eulogized in romantic terms a man who was the idea of Greeley's youthful politics:

> I loved thee, patriot Chief!
> I battled proudly 'neath thy banner pure;
> Mine is the breast of woe--the heart of grief,
> Which suffer on unmindful of a cure—
> Proud to endure.[13]

The "breast of woe" and the "heart of grief" were stock phrases of romantic poetic diction, as were images of the "brighter halo" and "deep green sod" of the closing stanza. Another of Greeley's poems, titled

"Nero's Tomb," quoted in a subscript a line from Byron, "Some hand unseen strewed flowers upon his grave," and contrasted the emperor's "face of wrath" with the calmly serene and purifying face of nature surrounding it, closing with:

> No! scorn them not, those flowers,
> They speak too deeply to each feeling heart—
> They tell that Guilt hath still its holier hours—
> That none may e'er from earth unmourned depart;
> That none hath all effaced
> The spell of Eden o'er his spirit cast,
> The heavenly image in his features traced—
> Or quenched the love unchanging to the last![14]

Nature is viewed here in the romantic manner, as an anodyne for even the grossest perversions of mankind, but only the "feeling heart" can hear the flowers "speak."

Another Greeley poem, dedicated to an unnamed "Vision" and possibly inspired by the poet/editor's wife, Mary Cheney, echoed in its closing lines the tone and general romantic mood of Byron's "Maid of Athens":

> I have not dreamed that gold or gems adorn thee—
> That Flatt'ry's voice may vaunt thy matchless form;
> I little reck that worldlings all may scorn thee,
> Be but thy soul still pure, thy feelings warm;
> Be thine bright Intellect's unfading treasures,
> And Poesy's more deeply-hallowed spell,
> And Faith the zest which heightens all thy pleasures,
> With trusting love—Maid of my soul! Farewell![15]

Finally, a Greeley poem that appeared in Edgar Allen Poe's Southern Literarly Messenger in August, 1840, contained the mood, subject matter, and something of the style of Wordsworth's "Tintern Abbey." The poem was titled "The Faded Stars"; its opening stanza read as follows:

I mind the time when Heaven's high dome
  Woke in my soul a wondrous thrill—
When every leaf in Nature's tome
  Bespoke creation's marvels still'
When mountain cliff and sweeping glade,
  As morn unclosed her rosy bars,
Woke joys intense—but naught e'er bade
  My heart leap up, like you, bright stars![16]

The poem described, in the staple romantic manner, the early mystical experience with nature (spelled with a capital "N"), in which the poet was put in touch with a divine power which, however, left him in later years: "I read no more in Nature's face / A soul responsive to my own." The poem closed with the poet's resolve to put to work, for the welfare of mankind, what he had learned from the mystical insight.[17]

Nature and God

As was the case with most of the transcendentalists, Greeley's literary and religious imagination seems to have been colored by his close relationship with nature. Three of Greeley's biographers mentioned his early close association with nature,[18] and Greeley himself, in his autobiography, Recollections of a Busy Life, spoke fondly of farming:

> I should have been a farmer. All my riper tastes incline to that blessed calling whereby the human family and its humbler auxiliaries are fed. Its quiet, its segregation from strife, and brawls, and heated rivalries, attract and delight me. . . .
> . . . Blessed is he whose day's exertion ends with the evening twilight, and who can sleep unbrokenly and without anxiety till the dawn awakes him, with energies renewed and senses brightened, to fresh activity and that fullness of health and vigor which are vouchsafed to those only who spend most of their waking hours in the free, pure air and renovating sunshine of the open country.[19]

It is not unreasonable to suppose that Greeley's lifelong preference for the natural over the artificial—in food, dress, writing style, and social manners—likely came from his early simple life on the farm. Even after he had become the successful editor, he refused to wear clothing much different from the homespun he had worn as a farmer's boy.[20] His feeling for nature seems to have been very similar to that of most of the romantics of the day: the love of uncorrupted, untrammelled, rough nature as a point of inspiration for the human soul and as an indication of the presence of a divine, if wild, presence in the universe.[21]

In his essay "Poets and Poetry," Greeley wrote of the connection between the natural landscape and poetic inspiration, claiming that the shepherd, in all lands, was the natural poet:

> When at length his flock have sunk, at early evening, to rest, and the shepherd crouches, wrapped in his blanket-cloak, beside them, his mind awakens to a loftier activity ere his senses are sealed in slumber: from his mountain-side elevation, he looks abroad across rolling river and twinkling wooded ridges fluttering in the chill night-breeze—to other mountains, vast and towering as his own, and to heaven, immensity, of awe, and of reverence are stirred within his soul: if of a cold, calculating, mathematical nature, he becomes an astronomer, and begins to weigh the stars in his balance; if of a fervid, impulsive genius, his meditations melt and glow into poetry. From shepherd races and shepherd climes have come forth the instructors, conquerors, bards, and civilizers of the barbarian world.[22]

Despite his love of nature, however, Greeley was, according to his own words, no pantheist. Like Wordsworth, he believed that the child, having come most recently from nature, was closest to God (Greeley believed "We are all born poets"); unlike Wordsworth, though, he never believed that nature exactly <u>was</u> God.[23] In "Poets and Poetry" he wrote:

> As all young children are actually theists,--believers in a veritable, personal, conscious, omniscient, omnipotent Author and Ruler of all things, and utterly averse to substituting for this natural, tangible conception any thin attenuation of Pantheistic fog or "fire-mist," any blank Atheistic assumption, which gives to blind Chance or inexorable Fate the name of Law,--so the uncorrupted child instinctively perceives the poetic element in Nature, realizes that we are not the mere combinations of gases and alkalies to which the chemist's crucible would reduce us, but beings of mysterious origin and untold spiritual force, inhabiting a world only less weird and wondrous than ourselves.[24]

This feeling for the mystic grandeur of nature found its way into the pages of the Tribune. In an editorial titled "The Schoharie Caverns," dated September 3, 1842, Greeley wrote:

> We are lovers of Nature in all her varied forms, the grand and terrible as well as the beautiful. It will be a matter of no surprise, therefore, that a vague and uncertain rumor of the discovery of a new and extensive cave in the county of Schoharie, which reached us one cloudy morning a few days since, was welcome intelligence.
>
> [Following paragraphs described the editor's trip to Schoharie and the picture of nature he saw there:] While the eye roamed over the broad expanse, almost wearied with the vastness of the view, a large cloud slowly and majestically moved before the sun and shut off the light in part, and while the hills in the distance were glowing in its ruddy blaze, the foreground was manteled with the rich broad shadow, presenting a picture which can never be surpassed, and which will ever be remembered with feelings of pleasure.[25]

Another similarly-spirited entry was written by Henry Ward Beecher, the Transcendental minister who was a friend of Greeley's. Beecher had spent some time on a farm in the Berkshire Hills, wrote about it, and sent it to the New York Independent, from which the Tribune excerpted it. In this entry Beecher worried about the smallest parts of nature, then about the problem of dominance in the natural dominion of the farm:

> And all this is mine! These rocks, that lie in bulk under the pasture-trees, and all this moss that loves to nestle in its crevices, and clasp the invisible projections in its little clinging hands, and all these ferns and sumac, these springs and trickling issues, are mine! Let me not be puffed up with sudden wealth. Let me rule discreetly among my tenants. Let me see what tribes are mine. . . . Are they mine? Is it my eye and my hand that mark their paths and circuits? Do they hold their life from me, or do I give them their food in due season? Vastly as my bulk is greater than theirs, and I so much superior that I can despise, or even not admire? . . . Since the same hand made me that made them, and the same care feeds them that spreads by board, let there be fellowship between us. There is. . . . It is not in the nature of true greatness to be exclusive and arrogant. . . . Only vulgar natures employ their superiority to task and burden weaker natures. He whose genius and wisdom are but instruments of oppression, however covered and softened with lying names, is the beginning of a monster. And if one fully believes that the earth is the Lord's, and that God yet walks among leaves, and trees, in the cool of the day, he will not easily be persuaded to cast away the belief that all these vagaries and wild comminglings are those of a child in his father's house, and that the secret springs of joy which they open are touched of God.[26]

The sense of commonality with all forms of life, a romantic "oneness" perhaps suggested by Emerson's idea of the "oversoul," is what is present here—the sense that nature has something to teach mankind, something vital. If one could not leave the city to reach it in the heart of the woods or beside the roaring cataract, something of it might be brought to the city. An August, 1841 Tribune entry titled "Magnificent Exhibition" detailed such an attempt, an exhibit in the city of a model of Niagara Falls. This suggested the symbiotic relationship between nature and the individual and collective imagination present in the population of New York City at this time.[27]

In addition to entries such as these, Greeley also regularly ran nature poems in the Tribune. One of these, Richard Henry Dana's "To a Garden Flower Sent to me by a Lady," connected nature with the beloved,

who was characterized as a "slender Stalk" into whose bosom "human feelings rained."[28] Another, titled "A Forest Walk," sounded much like Wordsworth (with a little of Emerson tossed in), and connected nature with the mind of man:

> A spell was on me then;
> I reached a circle in the forest wood,
> And by a mound o'ergrown with green moss, stood,
> And gazed adown the glen.
>
> But yet I knew it not;
> For, like a wanderer of the sea, I roved
> thro' all the scenes fond Infancy had loved,
> To each remembered spot.
>
> Once, all was strangely still;
> Then came a swell of music passing sweet,
> As if't had left the plains of Heav'n, to greet
> Earth's notes by mount and rill.
>
> I felt it coming on;
> Softer, then deeper, wilder than before;
> Till fibres of each leaf its impress bore,
> Filled with its blended song.
>
> It stole away my heart;
> Each nerve within me seemed a trembling lyre,
> Of varying tone, still sweeter, higher,
> Bearing a humble part.
>
> Blest Sympathy! I cried,
> Linking the worlds of Nature and of Thought,
> As two great rivers that are wisely taught
> To mingle tide with tide.[29]

A number of transcendental elements are combined here, triggered by the presence of the "I" in the midst of the natural scene: the mystic "spell," the return to the innocent estate of the child (the "scenes fond Infancy had loved"), the presence of a mystically musical message in the "fibres of each leaf" of the forest, then, finally, the combination of the

world of nature and that of intellect (where the beauty of the scene is perceived).

A similar poem, titled "April," celebrated the spring of the year in romantic terms;[30] and another, titled "The Ruler Has Fallen," eulogized the passing of President Harrison, mourning him in heroic terms and viewing him as having become part of a benevolent and beautiful nature:

> Deep in the heart of man, as o'er the earth,
> Thy presence casts a cheerful tone of mirth . . .
> And the hoarse sounding waterfall
> Rejoices in the dim, primeval shades.
> I love to hear the healthful breezes raise
> O'er the wood-tops their sounding psalms of praise.
> I love to hear thy sounds of rustic toil,
> Where glides the furrowing share along the fertile soil.[31]

Greeley's faith--not pantheistic, not deistic, not puritanical--nonetheless bore elements of all three: not believing that nature <u>was</u> God, he nevertheless believed, as has been seen, in nature as a point of inspiration for God's goodness; no deist, he believed both in a natural law and in reform, destroying the deistic argument that a class-structured society was rightly, divinely, constituted; strict in his own habits, to the point of being almost "puritanical," he did not believe in the doctrine of eternal damnation of souls.[32] Summing up what Greeley believed and disbelieved, Charles Sotheran wrote:

> He always antagonized anything approaching Atheism, and upon one occasion discussing Communism, he said: "Even the followers of Comte, the swallowers of his Pantheistic fog, will yet be banded or melted into Communities, and will endeavor to realize the exaltation of Work into Worship, with a degree of success to be measured by the individual character of the associates." On another occasion he wrote: "Mere recognition of God as an Architect is not sufficient: still less is belief in Him as a blind Power--like the Destiny of the Greek Drama or the Fatalism which challenges the Turk's submission. Worse

> still is the vulgar ideas of him as an African Mumbo-Jumbo, to be placated by flattery or won over by servile compliances in place of practical and hearty obedience. Whoever truly knows Him as He is, knows that no act or thought, whether good or evil, can possibly fail of its due recompense, and that all attempts to evade this by finesse or formula are at once preposterous and audacious. That His mercy to the erring and the penitent never faileth, is a glorious, cheering truth; but vainly shall any hope for Vice, penitent on its death-bed, [against?] the rewards of enduring Virtue. Were He but known as He is, we should have more lives of active beneficence and fewer death-beds of abject repentance when too late to be of any earthly use. . . ."[33]

Greeley, then, seems to have been a man of two worlds: the man of city life and public affairs who took on, with characteristically good heart and profound insight and conscience, practically every social cause available to a 19th-century intellectual; and the poetic soul who longed to return to nature and the farm, who spent his weekends working a hopeless, hilly 75-acre plot chosen by his wife for its "Living water," "brawling brooks," and "woods largely composed of evergreens" but referred to by his friends as "Greeley's Bog."[34]

Even about nature Greeley was of two minds. The same man who in his essay "Poets and Poetry" could view nature as poetic impulse and the shepherd as the common denominator of all poets could write in another essay, "Reforms and Reformers," an entirely different version, one of a "hard, cold, rocky planet."[35] The stark exterior of nature that Greeley saw here became for him both a condition and quality of mankind, of the inner nature of humanity. Moreover, it was not the long ago and far away but, instead, the present; its savagery the savagery of the moment; its primitive the modern man of the 19th century.

The same mind that could view the universe as being charged with the "Omniscient Beneficence" of God could also see it as being shrouded in

evil. Man, like Christ, according to Greeley, must become "perfect through suffering." Nature had her hard lessons to teach, and all men must learn them by suffering. the savage existed in the present as well as in the past and included "All savage tribes" as well as "all nations still in their mental childhood." Primitivism to Greeley was not, therefore, something that was temporal in nature but something that was timelessly spiritual/intellectual. Nor was it something limited to the countryside; it was a quiet, uncaring force that inhabited the city as well: "who, if he has any choice perfers to grow old and die at No. 239, unknown to, and uncared for by, the denizens of Nos. 237 and 241? For my family's sake, if not for my own, a country home was required: so I looked about and found one," he wrote. Horace Greeley, the same man who had left the farm because "Farming, as understood and practised by those among whom I grew up, was a work for oxen; and for me the life of an ox had no charms," returned to the country to build a farm of his own. Horace Greeley, the man who viewed the shepherd as an ideal type inspired to poetic utterance by God through the wonders of His natural creation, could see "Nature, though complaisant at seasons . . . yet . . . grudging and stern toward our race, until transformed and vivified by Labor and Science, . . . [While] the waterfall that propels the civilized's mill arrests the savage's canoe."[36]

From Poetry to Reform

The mixture of sternness and pleasure which Greeley found in nature honed in the editor a fine literary sharpness that, having turned early toward the dreaminess of romantic poetry, later turned outward toward

reforming society. Biographers other than Parton have spoken of Greeley's early literary bent.[37] Greeley, however, soon came to concentrate more and more on news writing and less and less on poetry, although he never quit writing verse (publishing no more after the founding of the Tribune in 1841 but, instead, filing poems in his desk drawer at work). Stoddard noted that when New York newsman/poet Robert Bonner of the New York Ledger wanted to anthologize some of Greeley's verse, the Tribune editor replied:

> You must exclude me from your new poetic Pantheon. I have no business there. I am no poet and never shall be. True I wrote some poems in my callow youth but I was never a poet even in the mists of deluding fancy. They were read by few and those few have kindly forgotten them.
>
> Within the last ten years I have been accused of all possible and some impossible offenses against good taste, good morals and the common weal,--I have been branded aristocrat, communist, infidel, hypocrite, disunionist, etc.—but I cannot remember that any one has flung in my face my youthful transgressions in the way of Rhyme. Do not then accord to the malice of my enemies this forgotten means of annoyance. Let the dead rest.[38]

At this time when Greeley, at 23, was still writing poems, he was already concerned with social issues. According to Hale, Greeley

> had devoured novels, essays, travel books, summaries of philosophy, and even statistical discussions of the state of the national banks, and was yearning to express himself on each. He was filled with a desire to do his friends and the world some good: he had already begun handing out sizable portions of whatever weekly cash he earned to fellow journeymen, strays, alcoholics, promoters of causes, and improvident members of his own family.[39]

Greeley seems at this stage of his development to have manifested both sides of the transcendentalist spirit, the intensely personalized inner vision (resulting in his writing of poems) which, perhaps because of its

intensity, became a vision of reform of the outer world.[40] Judging from biographies, this early preoccupation with writing heavily romantic poetry gradually gave way to what Abercrombie has defined as the other side of the romantic vision: "life promising itself indefinite betterment in this actual world, and the vision of man's earthly perfection. . . ."[41] This occurred as Greeley the poet was gradually transformed into Greeley the transcendentalist.

During his career as editor of the Tribune, Greeley not only showed himself aware of literary movements but also hired poets and literary social reformers to work for his paper.[42] As Tribune editor, Greeley hired the prominent transcendentalist Margaret Fuller, editor of the Dial, along with the poet Bayard Taylor and the founder of Brook Farm, George Ripley.[43]

Greeley's religion suggests a further connection with transcendentalism. He was a Universalist, a sect founded in the 18th century and which later joined with the Unitarians (out of which transcendentalism grew), whose central belief was "a theological doctrine that all men will eventually be saved."[44] Greeley strongly believed in the eventual triumph of good over evil:

> Once conceive that an Omniscient Beneficence presides over and directs the entire course of human affairs, leading ever onward and upward to universal purity and bliss, and all evil becomes phenomenal and preparative,—a mere curtain or passing cloud, which hides for a moment the light of the celestial and eternal day.[45]

Judging from what Greeley said about his faith and judging from his life as a champion of social reform, one begins to get some idea of his theory of human nature, which was not incommensurate with his ideas about

nature in general. With the transcendentalists, he believed that human nature was not something fixed and unchanging but something, like his own farm, open to "improvement."[46] He believed that "Virtue and vice, worth and worthlessness, fame and shame are divided by no social lines--that each may be found in the palace and in the hovel."[47] He also believed that "Omniscient Beneficence" would lead man to both a heavenly and an earthly salvation.[48] A staunch individualist, he believed that society could best be reformed by first reforming individual human nature. This, he thought, could be accomplished best by reforming institutions.[49] Finally, although Greeley never accepted spiritualism to the extent that his wife did, he apparently believed in the spiritual "enlightenment" of individual human nature: that the spirit world, presided over by what the transcendentalists called the "oversoul," occasionally communicated with the material world through individual insight. This world, he thought, opened itself especially to the innocent vision of the child.[50]

Greeley's perceptions about nature and human nature were, then, similar to those of the transcendentalists, although he could never accept the doctrine of free love that some of the transcendentalists (and most of the Fourierites) proposed.[51] The Transcendental movement, especially the teachings of Ralph Waldo Emerson, its leading figure, received a welcome hearing in the pages of the Tribune. Entries showed that as early as November 1841 the paper had begun to take note of Emerson's activities and ideas. On November 20 a preface to Emerson's essays, written by Thomas Carlyle, was printed which strongly recommended Emerson's ideology.[52] In March of 1842 the Tribune ran a summary of a lecture by Emerson, in which the philosopher viewed both reform and conservatism as having value, and

sided with a reform based on the principle of the essential goodness of human nature:

> Mr. E. concluded his lecture by appealing to the private heart of every generous man as to the relative superiority of these two antagonistic principles, and enforcing the truth that each should trust for security and happiness to his own in-dwelling virtues, and not to the institutions and bulwarks of Society, which is in effect relying on others' virtue rather than our own.[53]

In another entry dealing with Emerson, the philosopher's idea of progress, based on the goodness of individual human nature, echoed Tennyson's "O, yet we trust that, somehow, good will be the final goal of ill" and turned into a critique of the institution of slavery:

> How can such a question as the Slave trade be agitated for fifty years by all the Christian nations, without throwing great light on ethics into the general mind? The fury with which the Slave-trader defends every inch of his bloody deck, and his howling auction-platform, is a trumpet to alarm the ear of mankind, to wake the dull, and drive all neutrals to take sides, and listen to the argument and the verdict which justice shall finally pronounce.[54]

In a later entry covering a public lecture given by Emerson, a Tribune reporter wrote:

> Ralph Waldo Emerson read his fourth lecture last evening at the Society Library. It was mainly made up of critical remarks, in his best style, upon Coleridge, Wordsworth, Carlyle and Swedenborg--especially of the influence more or less powerful these great minds have exerted upon the young men of New England. We have seldom seen philosphic criticism more acute or embodied in a more beautiful and striking dress. Apart from all his peculiar doctrines there is an originality in his unborrowed style and mode of thought which is most refreshing in these days of tameness and imitation. Considered merely as literary essays Mr. Emerson's Lectures have a higher value than any others of the season. We are sincerely sorry for those who have not heard them.[55]

In March of 1843 the Tribune ran an entry titled "Mr. Emerson's Last Lecture," which was the closing number of a series of lectures by Emerson, all of which had been carefully noted and praised by the Tribune:

> Thoughtful minds, Mr. Emerson said, find the most satisfactory reliance in the natural guards of property--which will, under any circumstances, be protected. The farmer will not plant unless the chances are a hundred to one that he can likewise harvest; all persons and all property have a power of their own, just as truly as all mater has attraction; and it will just as surely be felt in all the arrangements of Society. Laws may do or say what ehey will; money will still have power; and though the State should enact that men who have property shall not vote, still the property of that State will write all needed statutes for its own protection.
>
> [Emerson's] audience has increased at each successive evening during the entire series; his lectures have been heard with the deepest attention and evident delight, and we are sure that he leaves behind a wider circle of admiring friends than he found when he commenced his course.[56]

Given Greeley's love of nature, his idea of the perfectability of human nature, and his desire for social reform, it was natural that he would be drawn to the transcendentalists. The Omniscient Beneficence of the transcendentalist oversoul was not, however, something that Greeley thought to be automatically operative; it worked through the efforts of men. The Word of God itself Greeley thought to be ineffectual unless accompanied by a concommitant change in social conditions which, he thought, gave rise to evil. In "Reforms and Reformers," he wrote:

> We hold that there is no practical cure for the vital woes of the pitiable which does not involve a preliminary change in their outward conditions. You may shower precepts and admonitions, tracts and Bibles, on the squalid, filthy, destitute thousands who tenant, thick as knotted adders, the cellars and rookeries of our great cities, and all will run off them like water from a duck's back, leaving them exactly as it found them. But first take them out of these lairs and lazar-houses, wash them, clothe them decently, and place them where

> they may, by honest, useful labor, earn a fair subsistence; now you may ply them with catechisms and exhortations with a rational hope of advantage. To attempt it sooner, even with seeming success, is only to cover their filthiness with a tenacious varnish of hypocrisy, rendering it less hateful to the eye, but more profound and ineradicable.[57]

During the depression of 1837-38, Greeley had occasion to get a close look at the "lairs and lazar-houses" of New York City. That winter, suffering became acute, and many died from starvation. Teams were organized to canvass the neighborhoods in order both to determine the extent of the suffering and to collect whatever donations could be had for later redistribution for relief. Greeley, having no money to give, served on one of the collection teams and was an eyewitness to the suffering:

> I thus saw extreme destitution more closely than I had ever before observed it, and was enabled to scan its repulsive features intelligently. I saw two families, including six or eight children, burrowing in one cellar under a stable,--a prey to famine on the one hand, and to vermin and cutaneous maladies on the other, with sickness adding its horrors to those of a polluted atmosphere and a wintry temperature. I saw men who each, somehow, supported his family on an income of $5 per week or less, yet who cheerfully gave something to mitigate the sufferings of those who were really poor. I saw three widows, with as many children, living in an attic on the profits of an applestand which yielded less than $3 per week, and the landlord came in for a full third of that. But worst to bear of all was the pitiful plea of stout, resolute, single young men and young women: "We do not want alms; we are not beggars; we hate to sit here day by day idle and useless; help us to work,--we want no other help: why is it that we can have nothing to do?"[58]

It was these conditions that led Greeley to write his series of articles "What Shall be Done for the Laborer?" published in the New Yorker in the winter of 1839-40 and later republished in the Tribune.

As noted earlier, Abercrombie held that romanticism existed in terms of two "visions": "life promising itself indefinite betterment in this

actual world, and the vision of man's earthly perfection; or life withdrawing from the actual, and the vision of a mystical experience beyond the power of earthly abilities.[59] Interestingly, Greeley described the development of the reformer in similar terms:

> The true Reformer turns his eyes first inward, scrutinizing himslef, his habits, purposes, efforts, enjoyments, asking What signifies this? and this? and wherein is its justification? . . . In short, why should I live for and in my appetites, if these were Divinely created to serve and sustain, not master and dethrone, the spirit to which this earthly frame is but a husk, a tent, a halting-place, in an exalted, deathless career? . . .
>
> Turning his eyes away from himself, he scans the relations of man with man, under which labor is performed and service secured, and finds, not absolute Justice, much less Love, but Necessity on the one hand, Advantage on the other, presiding over the general interchange of good offices among mankind. In the market, on the exchange, we meet no recognition of the brotherhood of the human race. . . .[60]

Greeley's own career, as sketched earlier, seems to have paralleled this description: first the dreamy, romantic poet, taken with the beauty of nature and the lives of heroic men, along with the inward grace that caused him in his poem "Fantasies" to examine his feelings about love and beauty; then the outward-looking reformer who, having imagined in his own conceptions the beautiful, the true, the compassionate, sought to recreate the world of reality in such terms. Such directions were implicit in Greeley's poems and in his later essay "Poets and Poetry." In an early poem containing the characteristic love for nature and inward glance of the romantic, Greeley the poet closed his poem with a resolve to become Greeley the reformer:

> Yet mourn not I,—a stern high duty
> Now nerves my arm and fires my brain;
> Perish the dream of shapes of beauty,
> So that <u>this</u> strife be not in vain.

To war on fraud entrenched with power,
  On smooth pretense and specious wrong,
This task be mine, though fortune lower;
  For this be banished sky and song.[61]

If Greeley gave up the "sky and song" of the poet (writing but no longer publishing poetry) in order "To war on fraud entrenched with power," he never gave over the transcendental poet's typical humanitarian vision. Instead, this vision moved outward and expressed itself in the mature Tribune editor's need to create "shapes" of social justice. By the time of the writing of his autobiography, Greeley had come to view poetry itself in terms of reform, calling it "the friend of Virtue and Merit, the foe of Oppression and Wrong, the champion of Justice and Freedom."[62] Greeley's world view, then, seems to have been that of a romantic Christian Socialist.[63] With the romantics, he believed in a benevolent universe that manifested itself in the beauties of nature; with the transcendentalists, he believed in a world spirit, an oversoul, which though partly recondite to the human mind and only partially reflected in nature, worked toward the betterment of mankind.

The spirit of this Christian socialism came to occupy a prominent place in the Tribune. In one of the entries under "What Shall Be Done for the Laborer?," published in July 1841, the editor announced his reformist ideas, arguing that the "Community, acting through its Political organization as the most efficient and universal in existence should at once take measures to furnish honorable and suitable Employment to every waiting, wanting son and daughter of Adam within its limits."[64] A number of entries not written by Greeley also showed preference for socialism,

including a regular column titled "Association," which explained the ideas of Charles Fourier. One "Association" column read:

> Association will be a perfect system of Democracy,--the most perfect that can be conceived. It will extend Liberty and Equality, now restricted to the narrow field of Politics, to every department of Society and human life, and render them Social and Universal; it will extend them to Labor, in which at present all is Tyranny, Injustice and Dominion of Man over his fellow Man; it will extend them to Education by giving every Child equal chances of Instruction, equal advantages at the outset of its career; and will extend them to Woman by elevating her true position and by giving her equal Rights.[65]

Reform as Social Progress

The Tribune also championed the human rights of the slaves and American Indians. A June 1842 editorial argued that the United States government should show special compassion to the "colored man, as well as the Indian. The latter was found in possession of this country, and has been driven from his home; the former was taken by violence from his own country, brought here, and subjected to slavery." The writer argued that both blacks and Indians should be provided decent living conditions, either in the States, in Hayti, or on the coast of Africa and that "the hope of elevating the colored race [should not] be abandoned until every expedient has been tried."[66] In the editorial column for May 30, 1842, a Tribune correspondent echoed the same sentiment and raised the issue of abolition:

> If to believe sincerely the great principle which lies at the foundation of our Free Institutions, that "all men are created equal," and desire heartily that "Liberty may be proclaimed throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof," without any mental reservations or qualification whatever, constitutes me an Abolitionist, then I must admit that I am one; and may god forbid that I should be any thing else.[67]

Suggesting the rising tide of resentment against the fugitive slave law, the governor of New York, in a January 1843 entry titled "Governor's Message," all but apologized for his having been forced to support the law.[68] And in an April 1843 editorial signed by Greeley and titled "Emancipation," the editor suggested that slaves remaining in the United States following the sending of others to Liberia should be freed also.[69]

The high regard shown by Greeley and the Tribune for individual and collective human rights and democracy was paralleled by the editor's strong faith in social progress and the expression of this in the Tribune.[70] Greeley, however, did not believe that social progress spontaneously kept pace with industrial progress. Sotheran recorded a speech given by the editor to the New York Typographical Society at their January 17, 1850, celebration of Benjamin Franklin's birthday. Here Greeley noted the many great inventions of modern civilization, including the "steam-engine, the spinning-jenny, the power-loom; the canal, steam-ship, power-press, rail-road, and lightning telegraph." He continued, contending that although "Labor has thus doubled and quadrupled its own efficacy in the production of whatever is needful to the physical sustenance, intellectual improvement and social enjoyment of Man," he did not "find that there has been a corresponding melioration in the condition of the Laborer." In the same speech, Greeley condemned management for being too concerned about "Over-Production," claiming that it did not exist "when so many, even in our midst, are suffering the pangs of famine"; and, in the spirit of the transcendentalist reformer, he argued that the "Community should prescribe the creation of some Social

Providence expressly to take care that no man, woman or child shall ever stand uselessly idle when willing and anxious to work." Greeley ended his speech by calling on the printers of New York to set up a "Labor Exchange" which would "be erected and owned as a joint-stock property," whose purpose would be that of "discussing and advancing the interests of Labor" and the bringing together of employer and employee.[71]

A divinely-ordained progress was part of the Tribune's idea of social providence. One entry falling into this category was found under the heading "Literary Notices" and was contained in a review of Alexis De Toqueville's Democracy in America. The reviewer complimented Toqueville for his perceptiveness in seeing that American democracy was something unique and something much in the mainstream of the spirit of the age. The reviewer wrote that all who had fought the development of democracy had been "blind instruments in the hands of God. He [Toqueville] thus recognized this gradual development of the equality of conditions as a providential fact--universal, durable and eluding all human interference."[72] What was posited here was the kind of providential progress in which God was viewed not merely as a cosmic force but as one with a personal hand in the betterment of mankind, evinced politically in the development of democracy.

A September 1841 entry titled "New York Weekly Tribune Prospectus" gave Greeley and McElrath's prospectus for a weekly edition of the Tribune (whose success, according to Frank Luther Mott, was unmatched[73]). Greeley wrote that a portion of the paper would be "devoted to purely Political discussions," that the proceedings of Congress would be recorded, that "Foreign and Domestic Intelligence" would be presented in a

timely and lucid way, and that "whatever shall appear calculated to promote Morality, maintain social Order, extend the blessings of Education, or in any way subserve the great cause of Human Progress to ultimate Virtue, Liberty and Happiness, will find a place in our columns."[74]

In January of 1843 a Tribune advertisement titled "To the American Public" picked up the idea of progress as a means of selling Sarasparilla: "Improvement in whatever regards the happiness and welfare of our race is constantly on the march to perfection. . . . What rapid strides has science made in every department of civilized life! particularly in that which related to the knowledge of the human system in health and disease. . . ." The ad continued, praising Sands' Sarasparilla as one manifestation of progress in medicine.[75] Finally, a June 1849 entry titled "The Law of Human Progress" reviewed William Graham Sumner's book by the same title. The reviewer noted Sumner's argument that man as an individual was "capable of indefinite improvement" and that this was the destiny of men individually and collectively, then qualified this with Sumner's contention that

> This does not imply the attainment of absolute perfection, as appears to have been supposed by Leibnitz, Turgot, and Condorcet. God only is perfect. Knowledge and virtue which are his attributes, are infinite; nor can man hope, in any lapse of time, to comprehend this immensity. As the asymptote, in geometry constantly approaches its curve, yet can never reach it, so are human souls the asymptotes of God.[76]

During the summer of 1842, the Tribune began running a regular front-page column titled "Retrenchment and Reform," which dealt with topics largely political in nature, including the acts of the federal and state

governments in making things better for the average man. Included here were arguments for reform ranging from temperance to abolition to association, a term used by the Fourierites to describe their communal establishments.[77] After featuring, as a paid advertisement, the ideas of Fourier on the front page of the Tribune for several months, Greeley himself soon became a convert. Isely cited a letter from Greeley to Dana, dated October 10, 1842, in which Greeley disagreed with Albert Brisbane, the major American apologist of Fourier's views and a major influence on Greeley's social thought, about the role of politics in social reform. Complaining that Brisbane did not seem to want to cooperate with other reformers, Greeley suggested greater cooperation, and then wrote: "My way is different. I think Association is the most natural thing in the point to which all the Progress of the last century has tended by a natural law."[78] The following November, Greeley obliquely endorsed Associationism by noting that what Fourier had advocated had been accomplished somewhat in Georgia, where a 76-mile railroad,—built by volunteers whose labor in the project had earned them shares in the company—had been completed from Ocmulgee to the Flint River and was currently owned and operated by those who had built it.[79]

Earlier in the same year, the Tribune had run a number of associationist articles arguing for reform. A lengthy entry for April 7, titled "Man and Society," argued a doctrine accepted by the transcendentalists: that it was institutions which corrupted society and not human nature. "Man and Society," however, inverted the

transcendentalist view that society could be reformed by reforming the individual:

> Our societies are the work of human legislation and accidental circumstances. They are composed of a mass of incoherent and contradictory customs, laws and institutions, which have grown up gradually out of the caprices, prejudices, ignorance and oppression of Politicians, Philosophers and absolute Rulers, and which are based upon false views of Human Nature. They derange and pervert the action of the Passions, and make them appear depraved, where they are in fact good and perfect, and capable of Unity and Harmony. They violate, besides, every principle of Justice and Economy, and engender the Poverty, suffering, Vice and Crime which we see predominant in the world around us.
>
> It is a general belief that the Social System is good, but that Man is perverse. We must reform the Individual, says the world, not Society. This superficial error ever has exercised, and still exercises, a powerful influence in preventing any efforts to change the Social Organization and to adapt it to Human Nature and to the Passions. . . . As theoretical evidence of its falseness, we have but to remark that our Societies are the work of human Politicians and Legislators, whereas Man is the work of God.[80]

The entry continued, arguing that in order to reform society successfully, "Man and the Passions . . . must be carefully studied." According to the writer, this had not been done in the past; instead, philosophers had concentrated their studies on metaphysical matters, with cosmic speculation, and had dealt with such matters as "the nature of the Conscience, the Memory, etc., which give us only a very slight and partial knowledge of Man":

> They have accepted the gross error, which Time and popular Prejudice have sanctioned, that the Passions--instead of being perverted--are naturally depraved, and they have not in consequence endeavored to discover a Social Order suited to them and which would direct them rightly. What we want is a knowledge of the Passions, and of the Laws which regulate their action. This knowlege the world does not possess; it is completely in the dark with regard to the Passions; it does not

> know that they are capable of two modes of action,--one of which is true, the other false, and that they can produce as much Harmony and Virtue as they now produce Discord, Vice and Crime.[81]

Finally, the Tribune editorialized against the death penalty for criminals. In a short editorial titled "Capital Punishment," run in May 1841, the paper took the position that capital punishment was inhumane and ought to be abolished.[82] In a subsequent entry, titled "The Punishment of Death," the Tribune writer used a number of Bible passages to show that the death penalty was wrong.[83] And in an April 1843 editorial titled "Licentiousness and Crime," Greeley wrote, "we . . . insist that neither Society nor the individual has any moral right to inflict punishment--above all, that of death--save as a measure of self-defense against imminent, deadly peril. . . ."[84]

Conclusions

Entries in the Tribune suggest, both directly and obliquely, that Greeley and his penny paper were both part of New England transcendentalism. This was manifested in Greeley's interest in poetry, which gave place to an interest in newspapering and reform while the poetic spirit remained intact, manifesting itself, in turn, as a social idealism characterized by unusual matching practicality. The editor's intensely personal interior poetic vision was gradually replaced by a vision of a new world less troubled by poverty and suffering. His development paralleled here the two "visions" or directions of transcendental romanticism.

Throughout his life Greeley was closely associated with both literary figures and reform movements. His association with the transcendentalists

was an indication of his interest in romantic literature, religion, and reform. The Tribune followed closely the activities of Emerson and other prominent transcendentalists. Greeley's religious ideas were, for the most part, similar to those of the transcendentalists. His sect, the Universalists, had joined with the Unitarians, Emerson's sect, earlier in the 18th century. Like the transcendentalists, Greeley believed in individual enlightenment, in society as a formation of individual consciences subject to the penetration of "Omniscient Beneficence" (what Emerson called the "oversoul"), and in great individual freedom. He never accepted, however, free love and remained conservative throughout his life on issues of marriage, divorce, and sexual continence.

Transcendental mysticism and imagination found their way into the pages of the Tribune partly by way of the paper's "isms," all of which in one way or another advocated social changes based on intuitive perceptions and imaginative new life styles. Greeley's Fourierism, for example, was based on what Fourier called "attraction," a supposed cosmic force, one manifestation of which was gravity, which led some individuals to be attracted to one form of labor and some to another. This would lead, according to Fourier, to successful "association" of individuals based on a full expression of individual preference, the extreme manifestation of which was the "passions." Greeley and the Tribune accepted this somewhat mystical doctrine; and when the Brook Farm experiment failed in 1843, Greeley and George Ripley reorganized it into a Fourierist "Phalanx," or social group.

Individual and collective democracy, human rights, and progress were the logical results of Greeley's romantic perceptions about nature and the

universe. Greeley's romantic Christian socialism saw God as a divine mix of deistic and romantic principles. God was personal but not immanent in nature; the universe ran by natural law but needed to be reformed; nature was not God but was reflective of the beauty of God; God was "Omniscient Beneficence" but created "This hard, cold, rocky planet"; God was all-powerful but worked through man to accomplish His ends. Whatever the exact mix of Greeley's religion, he leaned constantly forward in the direction of reform and progress. The dreamy, introspective romantic poet, then, developed into the dreamer of social good, brotherly love and cooperation, and the reconstruction of a society more in these terms than in any other that existed in Greeley's day.

## Notes

[1]Henry Luther Stoddard, in Horace Greeley, Printer, Editor, Crusader (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1946), wrote that the Tribune editor "became the burden-bearer for all the causes urged by agitators" (p.80); Nicoll Francis Zabriskie, in Horace Greeley the Editor (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1890), wrote that Greeley was "essentially and in all things a reformer, in the literal meaning of the word—not to disorganize, but to reform" (p. 148); Joseph S. Myers, in The Genius of Horace Greeley (Columbus, OH: Ohio University Press, 1929), spoke of Greeley's "advocacy of anything tending to the amelioration of poverty" and his feeling that "any [social] scheme or vagary deserved a trial" (p. 16); Jeter Allen Isely, in Horace Greeley and the Republican Party, 1853-1861 (New York: Octagon Books, 1965), wrote that Greeley was "impelled . . . to place the Tribune in the vanguard of the reform movement . . ." (p. 21); and Charles Sotheran, in Horace Greeley and Other Pioneers of American Socialism (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1915), wrote of Greeley's ideas of reform in connection with his practice of the Christian religion (pp. 224-225).

[2]For example, only William Alexander Linn, in Horace Greeley (New York: D. Appleton, 1912), has suggested any probable connection in Greeley's mind between 19th-century utopian ideas and the editor's own ideas about reform. These ideas came, Linn suggests, largely from literary sources: "The Tribune was started when, in the words of John Morley, 'a great wave of humanity, of benevolence, of desire for improvement—a great wave of social sentiment, in short—poured itself among all who had the faculty of large and disinterested thinking;' a day when Pusey and Thomas Arnold, Carlyle and Dickens, Cobden and O'Connell, were arousing new interest in old subjects; when the communistic experiments in Brazil and Owen's project at Hopedale inspired expectation of social improvement; when Southey and Coleridge meditated a migration to the shores of America to assist in the foundation of an ideal society, and when philosophers on the continent of Europe were believing that things dreamed of were at last to be realized. Greeley's mind was naturally receptive of new plans for reform—a tendency inherited, perhaps , from his New England place of birth, 'that land in which every ism of social or religious life has had its origin.' The hard experience of his own family, as he shared it in his early boyhood, led him to think that something was wrong somewhere in man's struggle for existence, and his observations among the city poor during the hard times of 1837 enlisted his sympathies in behalf of all who live by labor. When, therefore, he found himself in control of a daily newspaper, he would not have been Horace Greeley if he had not been ready to make a 'most self-sacrificing defiance' of public opinion in behalf of doctrines which he considered right" (pp. 77-78).

[3] See Russel Blaine Nye, Society and Culture in America, 1830-1860 (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), pp. 19-20. Nye writes, "To the earlier eighteenth century, rationality meant uniformity; diversity meant

irrationality, and therefore error. To the late eighteenth century the concensus gentium seemed less important than private, individual judgment, and diversity seemed both 'natural' and right."

[4]The availability of God-as-Reason to every man was, of course, one of the tenets of deism as well (see Stow Persons, American Minds, New York: Robert Krieger & Co., 1975, p. 105). However, insofar as romanticism stressed the role of the individual above that of his society, it intensified the relationship between God and individual man and increasingly moved deity into the realm of human history. See Persons, pp. 214-219.

[5]Persons, p. 222.

[6]Lascelles Abercrombie, Romanticism (London: Martin Secker, 1926), p. 155.

[7]A period such as the Romantic Period may mark the presence of what James Carey, drawing on Raymond Williams' The Long Revolution, has called a "structure of feeling," a general or international worldview or mood that touches many or most of the cultural forms simultaneously. See James W. Carey, "The Problems of Journalism History," Journalism History, 1, no. 1 (Spring, 1974), p. 4.

[8]C. Hugh Holman, A Handbook to Literature (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1980), p. 450.

[9]See William Harlan Hale, Horace Greeley (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), pp. 15-30.

[10]Linn, p. 29.

[11]James Parton, The Life of Horace Greeley (New York: Mason Brothers, 1855) quoted in Lurton D. Ingersoll, The Life of Horace Greeley (1873; reprint ed., New York: Beekman Publishers, 1974), p. 155.

[12]See Hale, p. 25.

[13]Parton, p. 156.

[14]Ibid., p. 158.

[15]Ibid., pp. 159-160.

[16]Ibid., p. 160.

[17]bid.

[18]Zabriskie spoke of Greeley's father's "'orchard, . . . meadow, and . . . deep tangled wildwood' of the song; but the former, though of the same rocky substratum as the rest, produced apples which made Horace's mouth water long years after. . . . The meadow was a frog-pond, where the boy doubtless learned to take aim at the croakers and slippery divers of

the social and policital puddles of a later day" (p. 24); Parton wrote of Greeley's early love of the countryside and of fishing (p. 51); and Ingersoll wrote of young Greeley's experience as a farmer (pp. 26-28).

[19]Horace Greeley, Recollections of a Busy Life (New York: Arno & The New York Times, 1970), p. 295.

[20]See Linn, p. 11.

[21]Gary L. Whitby, "The New York Penny Press and the American Romantic Movement" (Dissertation, University of Iowa, 1984). See the discussion of "A New Theory of Nature" in Chapter III, beginning on p. 71.

[22]Greeley, p. 461.

[23]See Whitby, Chapter III, p. 61ff.

[24]Greeley, p. 461.

[25]"The Schoharie Caverns," New York Tribune, vol. 2, no. 125, 3 Sept. 1842, p. 7, col. 2. All subsequent citations from the New York Tribune will be given simply as Tribune.

[26]"Dream-Culture," Tribune, no. 4154, 11 Aug. 1854, p. 7, col. 1.

[27]"Magnificent Exhibition," Tribune, vol. 1, no. 106, 12 Aug. 1841, p. 1, col. 3.

[28]"To a Garden Flower Sent to Me By A Lady," Tribune, vol. 2, no. 243, 20 Jan. 1843, p. 1, col. 2.

[29]"A Forest Walk," Tribune, vol. 2, no. 282, 8 Mar. 1843, p. 4, col. 1.

[30]"April," Tribune, vol. 1, no. 2, 12 Apr. 1841, p. 1, col. 1.

[31]Tribune, vol. 1, no. 2, 12 Apr. 1841, p. 1, col. 3.

[32]See Greeley's chapter "My Farming" in Recollections of a Busy Life, pp. 302-310; Sotheran, pp. 224-226; and Greeley's chapter "My Faith" in Recollections of a Busy Life.

[33]Sotheran, pp. 220-221.

[34]Most of Greeley's biographers discuss his farming. See especially, Hale, pp. 177-178.

[35]See Greeley, pp. 497-498; Greeley here describes nature:
"This hard, cold, rocky planet, on whose surface we exist, toward whose centre we gravitate, seems to evince but a rugged and wayward kindness for her step-child, Man. Even to the savage, whom she takes to her rough breast with some show of maternal fondness, she says, 'Take your chance with my varying moods,--today sunshine, flowers, and bounty;

tomorrow, wintry blasts, bare hills, and destitution.' What wonder if the poor Exquimaux, shivering in his foodless lodge, which bleak wastes of drifting snow environ, should misread even the serenely benignant skies, and fancy that diabolic was at least equally potent with Divine agency in creating such a world?

"To civilized man, unless fenced about and shielded by that purely artificial creation we term Property, Nature presents a still sterner aspect. He may know, even better than the savage, how to extract sustenance and comfort from the elements everywhere surrounding him; but he finds those elements appropriated,--monopolized,--tabooed,--the private, exclusive possessions of a minority. To cut in the forest a dead, decaying tree, wherewith to warm his shivering, scarce-clad limbs,--to dig edible roots from the swamp, or gather berries from the beetling crag to stay his gnawing hunger,--is a trespass on the rights of some proprietor, property-owner, landlord, which legally subjects him to the assiduous but disagreeable attentions of the justice and the constable. Doomed to fight his way through this thorny jungle, he finds the weapons all chained out of his reach, or pointed against him. Born into a state of war, he must first forge or buy the requisite implements for the fray, though his adversaries are under no sort of obligation to wait till he is ready. The fertile prairie often produces sour, ungenial grasses; and the giant forest, so luxuriant in its panoply of tender foliage, affords but a grudging subsistence to the few birds and animals which inhabit or traverse it. Everywhere is presented the spectacle of diverse species of animated beings struggling desperately for subsistence, and often devouring each other for food."

[36] Ibid., pp. 71, 461, 296, 498.

[37] Myers wrote of Greeley's sister's remarking on her older brother's "poesy and romanticism" (p. 9); Sotheran described Greeley as "one of those noble souls associated with what has been styled the renaissance of New England literature" and labeled his writing, not pejoratively, as "propaganda" (p. 10); Isely noted Greeley's interest in literature and "his desire to assist young authors who showed literary promise . . ." (p. 16); Stoddard noted that "the New Yorker had another sentimental appeal [in addition to song lyrics] to young folks. There was always room for poetry, too. Indeed, Greeley led off in several issues with verses of his own composition . . ." (p. 34); Zabriskie wrote that "Death and melancholy seem to have reigned ver his verse, as was the fashion then" (p. 144); and
Ingersoll wrote of Greeley that "there was no one scholar among his countrymen, no matter how profoundly versed in learning, who accomplished so much for literature . . ." (p. 136).

[38] See Stoddard, pp. 36-37.

[39] See Hale, p. 26.

[40] See Abercrombie, p. 155.

[41] Ibid.

[42]According to Linn, "The transcendentalists of the Boston Dial, to which Emerson and Margaret Fuller contributed, had a hearing in his columns . . ." (p. 65); Sotheran wrote that Greeley "apprehended and taught the truths of Socialism to the People of the United States of America" (p. 1); Isely wrote that Greeley "came and went among New York's literary salons. He was welcomed at these gatherings, where he drank cambric tea, munched crullers, gesticulated volubly--and dashed off to pen the Monday morning leader for the Tribune" (p. 19); Stoddard noted that Greeley the socialist was always "in sympathy" with the transcendentalists' Brook Farm experiment (p. 95); and, according to Ingersoll, "from no one quarter were produced so many works of value and literary merit, as by the Editor and Assistant Editors of the New York Tribune during the years of Horace Greeley's control of the paper" (p. 187).

[43] Ingersoll, p. 137.

[44]Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield: G. & C. Merriam, 1979).

[45]Greeley, p. 71. Greeley also expressed this same faith again in his chapter in Recollections of a Busy Life entitled "My Faith" (p. 73) by way of reference to a poem by Tennyson, which, the editor said, summarized his belief:

> O, yet we trust that, somehow, good
> Will be the final goal of ill,
> To pangs of nature, sins of will,
> Defects of doubt, and taints of blood;
>
> That nothing walks with aimless feet;
> That not one life shall be destroyed,
> Or cast as rubbish to the void,
> When God hath made the pile complete;
>
> That not a worm is cloven in vain;
> That not a moth, with vain desire,
> Is shrivelled in a fruitless fire,
> Or but subserves another's gain.
>
> Behold! we know not anything:
> I can but trust that good shall fall
> At last,--far off,--at last, to all,
> And every Winter change to spring.

[46]See Greeley's chapter "My Farming" in Recollections of a Busy Life.

[47]Quoted in Stoddard, p. 16.

[48]See Greeley, p. 71.

[49]See Isely, p. 25. Isely connected Greeley's individualism with his early acceptance of Fourierism--Greeley later rejected parts of this doctrine--especially "the right of every man to pick his means of livelihood."

[50]See Greeley, p. 460.

[51]See Isely, pp. 24-25.

[52]"Ralph Waldo Emerson," Tribune, vol. 1, no. 192, 20 Nov. 1841, p. 1, col. 2.

[53]"Mr. Emerson's Third Lecture," Tribune, vol. 1, no. 284, 8 Mar. 1842, p. 2.

[54]"THE TIMES: A Lecture by Ralph Waldo Emerson," Tribune, vol. 2, no. 84, 18 July 1842, p. 4, col. 1.

[55]"Ralph Waldo Emerson," Tribune, vol. 2, no 269, 21 Feb. 1843, p. 2, col. 3.

[56]"Mr. Emerson's Last Lecture," Tribune, vol. 2, no. 282, 8 Mar. 1843, p. 2, col. 2.

[57]Greeley, p. 500.

[58]Ibid., p. 145.

[59]Abercrombie, p. 116.

[60]Greeley, pp. 502-503.

[61]Quoted in Zabriskie, pp. 144-145.

[62] See Greeley, p. 496. He wrote: "Nor must we regard Poetry merely as an intellectual achievement,--a trophy of human genius, an utterance from the heart of Nature, fitted to solace its votaries and strengthen them for the battle of Life. Poetry is essentially, inevitably, the friend of Virtue and Merit, the foe of Oppression and Wrong, the champion of Justice and Freedom. Wherever the good suffer from the machinations and malevolence of the evil,--wherever Vice riots, or Corrupion festers, or Tyranny afflicts and degrades, there Poetry is heard as an accusing angel, and her breath sounds the trump of impending doom. She cannot be suborned nor perverted to the service of the powers of darkness: a Dante or a Korner, lured or bribed to sing the praises of a despot, or glorify the achievements of an Alva or a Cortes, could only stammer out feeble, halting stanzas, which mankind would first despise, then compassionately forget. But to the patriot in his exile, the slave in his unjust bondage, the martyr at the stake, the voice of Poetry comes freighted with hope and cheer, giving assurance that, while Evil is but for a moment, Good is for ever and ever; that all the forces of the Universe are at last on the side of Justice; that the seeming triumphs of

faith; and that all things work together to fulfil the counsels and establish the kindgom of the all-seeing and omnipotent god."

[63]See Sotheran, pp. 219-251.

[64]"What Shall be Done for the Laborer?," Tribune, vol. 1, no. 92, 27 July 1841, p. 2, col. 3.

[65]"Association," Tribune, vol. 1, no. 297, 23 Mar. 1842, p. 1, col. 2; in "Liberty" (Tribune, 15 Apr. 1842, p. 1, col. 2), an entry dealing with association and objecting to slavery because it constituted a threat to "corporeal" liberty (the same objection made by the transcendentalists), the Tribune argued the rights of the individual: "Real Liberty and Equality require that Society should guarantee to every Member of the Human Family equal chances in every respect, commencing with Education and extending through all the spheres and departments of society"; "ASSOCIATION" (Tribune, vol. 2, no. 58, 16 June 1842, p. 1, col. 3) elaborated Fourier's emphasis on the freedom of the individual: "In Association, a large number of occupations will be open to every individual. Every person (male and female) can take part in those Groups which he prefers; he has only to testify a love or attraction for the work to be admitted a member. Every person as a consequence can choose those occupations which his inclinations may dictate and which are suited to his health. (We [the editor, apparently] will remark that an individual, in a group, will attend to but one detail of a work, whereas at present he must execute all parts of it. If a superior practical or industrial education were given to children, they could learn with ease a detail in the several branches of Industry.)"; by February of 1843, the column on Associationism was going under the heading "Social Science" (Tribune, 21 Feb. 1843, p. 1, col. 3.

[66]"The Slavery Question," Tribune, vol. 2, no. 58, 16 June 1842, p. 4, col. 2.

[67]"Closing up--Abolition--Colonization--Prayer Meetings--Tea Parties, ETC.," Tribune, vol. 2, no. 43, 30 May 1842, p. 4, col. 1.

[68]"Governor's Message," Tribune, vol. 2, no. 230, 5 Jan. 1843, p. 1, col. 3.

[69]"Emancipation," Tribune, vol. 3, no. 5, 14 apr. 1843, p. 1, col. 1.

[70]According to Stoddard, "More fixed in Greeley's mind than politics when he founded the Tribune was his eagerness for what he called progress in social welfare" (p. 78); according to Isely, who gave eight examples from the pages of the Tribune, Greeley's belief in progress included material progress: "He greeted each scientific discovery as a 'Sign of the Times,' and repetitiously summarized his optimism over the 'Progress of the Age'" (p. 20).

[71]Cited in Sotheran, pp. 311-312.

[72]"Literary Notices," Tribune, 14 May 1841, p. 1, col. 3.

[73]Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism (New York: Macmillan, 1941), p. 269.

[74] "New York Weekly Tribune Prospectus," Tribune, vol. 1, no. 134, 14 Sept. 1841, p. 3, col. 2.

[75]"To the American Public," Tribune, vol. 2, no. 230, 5 Jan. 1843, p. 1, col. 1.

[76]"The Law of Human Progress," Tribune, vol. 9, no. 52, 8 June 1849, p. 1, col. 1.

[77]The research did not determine the date on which the first of these was printed, nor when the column ceased to be run. However, almost any edition of the Tribune during the summer of 1842 will be found to contain the column.

[78]Isely, p. 23.

[79]"Important Industrial Movement," Tribune, vol. 2, no. 17 3 Nov. 1842, p. 1, col. 2.

[80]"Man and Society," Tribune, vol. 1, no. 310, 7 apr. 1842, p. 1, col. 1.

[81]Ibid. Another associationist entry, "To the Laboring Classes" (Tribune, vol. 2, no. 18, 30 Apr. 1842, p. 1, col. 2), compared the current laboring class in America to various other classes during history and advised: "Let their [European laborers'] condition be a warning for you, and . . . advocate Reform in the present false and wretched Organization of Society, which entails Poverty upon you, who produce all Wealth, and throws its hardships upon you, who deserve most"; "Association, or Principles of a true organization of Society" (Tribune, vol. 1, no. 284, 8 Mar. 1842, p. 1, col. 2), which contained some of the memoirs of Fourier and echoed the transcendentalists, noted that one of Fourier's principal rules of study was "to observe Nature as she reveals her laws, rather than delude [oneself] by imagining or learning arbitrary principles"; and an entry not dealing specifically with associationism but suggesting some of its principles, "The Herald of the New Moral World" (Tribune, vol. 1, no. 234, 8 Mar. 1842, p. 1, col. 2), noted the first publication of the new monthly periodical "The Herald of the New Moral World and Millenial Harbinger," which advocated a Fourier-Dispensation: "[Although] we doubt the practicability of the precise plan herein set forth, . . . [its] spirit and temper . . . are excellent, and its inculcations are calculated to exert a salutary influence in modifying the selfishness and passion for luxury which are prominent vices of our time and people."

[82] "Capital Punishment," Tribune, vol. 1, no. 23, 6 May 1841, p. 2, col. 1.

[83]"The Punishment of Death," Tribune, vol. 1, no. 235, 10 Jan. 1842, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[84]"Licentiousness and Crime," Tribune, vol. 3, no. 4, 13 Apr. 1843, p. 2, col. 1.